Duane 40: 12:

THE

Republican Rush-Light.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

No. VII.—BEING THE FIRST NUMBER OF VOLUME II.

When things go ill, each fool preſumes t' adviſe,
And if more happy, thinks himſelf more wiſe;
All wretchedly deplore the preſent ſtate,
And that advice ſeems beſt, which comes too late.

SEDLEY.

WHEN a perſon undertakes to adviſe a Nation, it is previouſly neceſſary that a majority of that nation ſhould be convinced of their paſt follies. No perſon generally known to Americans could be ſuppoſed more capable of ſpeaking the bold language of truth to the American ear, than Peter Porcupine. He was no flatterer of the people. He held them in ſovereign contempt. In the 6th Number of the Ruſh-Light he has undertaken to ſhew Americans their paſt follies:—but by the recent elections, we may ſuppoſe they have been con-

vinced, without the aid of Cobbett: and they can now bear to hear truths which would have been grating to the American ear four years ago.

Without entering into the diſagreeable taſk of recounting paſt follies, this Republican Taper will, as far as its feeble rays can be ſeen, endeavour to illuminate the future path of patriotic Americans.

No Nation, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, was ever ſo deceived and bewildered by falſe lights. —During the whole adminiſtration of John Adams, an *ignus fatuus* was continually leading the good citizens of this country from one deluſion to another; and ſo well did the Old Gentleman play his part, that he appeared himſelf to be one of the deluded multitude, eſpecially when he pretended, in the height of his infatuation, to ſee the finger of Heaven point to war!

O John! John! the people were certainly deluded; but you alſo were deceived in the people.—You had the weakneſs to believe, that Americans were ready to march under your banner, as the croiſaders marched under the ſign of the Croſs, with Peter the Hermit; but you found yourſelf miſtaken. Thoſe who imagine they can rule by deluſion in the nineteenth century of the Chriſtian æra, when the art of printing has multiplied books, and conſequently knowledge, are

are grievouſly miſtaken. The Cobler has now as much knowledge as the Monk; and a Robert Slender, mending ſhoes, could give a leſſon on the art of government, to John Adams, Preſident of the United States of America.

There is nothing *abſolutely* perfect, but the Supreme Mind; and yet every thing may be ſaid to be perfect, that anſwers the end for which it was deſigned. A clock that keeps good time, is a perfect clock, though not a perfect machine; and an honeſt and upright man is a perfect man, though not a perfect *being;* ſo that although abſolute perfection in government may not be attainable, it would be the extreme of folly to think that no farther improvement can poſſibly be made in that ſcience; and they are the greateſt enemies of the human race, who attempt to diſſuade men from making experiments, or diſturb thoſe who would peaceably inſtruct mankind.

CHAP. II.

O! heaven-born PATIENCE, ſource of peace and reſt,
Deſcend; infuſe thy ſpirit through my breaſt,
That I may calmly meet the hour of fate,
My foes forgive, and triumph o'er their hate.
My body let their engines tear and grind,
But let not all their racks ſubdue my mind.

MALLET.

REPUBLICAN principles are acknowledged to be only in a ſtate of probation. While men are trying experiments, it has a bad aſpect, and ſhews they are not fit for the taſk they have undertaken, if they ſuffer themſelves to get out of patience. Are Americans ready to cry out, in one unanimous acclamation, "It will not do;"—"we muſt have a king, after the manner of European nations." "We are tired of election and repreſentation, as having produced nothing but rancorous party diſputes?" No: but we are certain, that ſome impatient ſpirits, hot-headed and violent men, ſuch as Fenno, Hamilton, Pickering, &c. who have not the patience to go through the tedious proceſs of an experiment, and who would ring the bell half a dozen times while their punch is making, would, and do, make uſe of ſuch language.

The

The great body of the American people are ſatisfied with the proceſs, ſo far as it has gone; and are ſenſible that when any defect has appeared, it has pointed out its own remedy.

In every undertaking where the joint efforts of many are concerned, it is abſolutely neceſſary, that every individual making an exertion ſhould know the ultimate deſign and final end of his endeavours; in order that every man may give "a long pull, and a ſtrong pull, and a pull altogether."

Every ſyſtem of government has its advantages and diſadvantages: and any of them would, perhaps, anſwer the end of general happineſs much better, if the Citizens were made acquainted, what that ſyſtem is; or, in other words, what is the grand deſign of government, in all its movements. Every Patriot would exert himſelf to promote that end; and although there might be ſome contrariety of opinion, about trifles, there would never be thoſe violent and tumultuous factions, which, by having different ends in view for the happineſs of their country, bear againſt each other in oppoſite directions; diſtract the councils of a Nation; and betwixt them, no good can be done.

This ſyſtem, of purſuing *one* end, is, what has made England flouriſh for the laſt century. Her ſtateſmen have always had in view, the ſecurity of property, the greateſt poſſible improvement

provement in agriculture, arts and commerce; and, finally, that the few might have the means of living in idleneſs, upon the labours of the many. The wars which that nation has been engaged in—her navy—her foreign poſſeſſions —her debt—in ſhort, all her enterpriſes abroad, and laws at home, have been made with a view to that end. And, however her great men and ſtateſmen may have differed about the means, yet they have all certainly agreed about the end; till the commencement of the preſent war with France.

When the United Provinces roſe to their meridian ſplendour, there was the ſame unanimity in their councils, reſpecting the end, or ſyſtem to be purſued; namely, an extenſion of commerce —and accordingly they ſucceeded: but as ſoon as two factions ſprung up, one who wiſhed to put the Republic under the protection of England, and the other under the influence of France; then the public good was no longer regarded, and laws and regulations were made, not with a view to the public good, but by the prejudice and paſſion of party. Thus, commerce (the vitals of the republic), being diſregarded by the rulers of the nation, fell into decay. It will be the ſame in England. Formerly the trifling party diſputes betwixt the *ins* and *outs*, never retarded the great and principal purſuits of the nation: but the parties are now changed. It is no longer Pitt and Fox, but the Government and People: and as they pull in oppoſite directions,

we muſt expect to ſee England decline. But this is not the only cauſe of the declenſion of that nation.

Now, can any perſon tell? can the preſident himſelf, or any member of congreſs ſay, what is the ſyſtem purſuing, or to be purſued, for the happineſs of America?

By the deſire ſome men have for a navy and armies of volunteers, one would imagine *their plan* was to form a monarchy; an extenſive foreign commerce, and the acquiſition of diſtant colonies; the navy to effect the one, and the army to accompliſh the other. But theſe men are inconſiſtent, through ignorance; for they diſcourage the arts, without which no country can ever ſupport an army, or be permanently commercial. To this it may be objected, that Holland and Venice are not, in an extenſive degree, manufacturing nations, and yet carry on commerce, and have a navy. To which it may be anſwered, that the back countries behind thoſe ſtates abound in arts and manufactures; which is the ſame thing.

By the conduct of other great men in the United States, one would imagine that it was their deſign to make America have a great reſemblance to Poland; where the great nobility poſſeſs all the land, and the real cultivator is poor and wretched. Theſe are your land ſpeculators, who were once for ſending all the people

ple into the woods, to become cerfs to the great lords; and who, like the angel who guarded Paradiſe, wave their flaming ſwords over the lands of America, leſt any perſon ſhould cultivate them for his own uſe, and live in freedom.

The Engliſh government, and the merchants from that country, ſettled here, have encouraged this idea; becauſe in that caſe the Atlantic ſtates would increaſe but little in population; and, *that*, principally in the ſea-ports, and thereby become an eaſy prey (like Dantzick) to their old maſters.

Again, by the diſcourſe of Harper, and ſome other of the high-flyers, it might be ſuppoſed that this country ought to become a warlike nation, and ſally forth, like the Greeks under Alexander, or the Romans under the Cæſars, and deſtroy the Spaniſh empire in South America; and, at once, extend the dominion of the Eagle to the Pacific Ocean and the Iſthmus of Darien. Yet theſe men, equally inconſiſtent with thoſe others, when they are ſpoken to concerning the introduction of the arts, ſay, That the country is too young for ſuch great attempts. How! too young to make a garment, and old enough to overturn an eſtabliſhed government! ſtrange inconſiſtency.

But the greater number of the people, and the merchants eſpecially, wiſh to make the country

country purely agricultural; that the merchants may have the exclusive privilege of furnishing them with goods, and exporting their produce. They imagine there will always be a ready market for American produce abroad.

It is no wonder (if this be a true statement) that men coming to congress from distant parts of the union, with such a discordancy of opinions, respecting what is good for their country, should so disagree in fundamentals, as it is found they do.

It is the intention, therefore, of this Rush-Light, truly republican, to point out what, in the opinion of the author, is the true policy of America to pursue in her future conduct, both with respect to foreign nations and in her domestic concerns; that every republican, throughout the wide extent of the Union, may cheerfully put his shoulder to the wheel; and, by one grand effort, extricate our political machine out of the quagmire into which it has been involved, by the unskilfulness of its conductors.

In accomplishing this purpose, it is not intended to criminate, vilify, or calumniate any person, for their past conduct. If the constitution has been abused, we will say it was done through ignorance and folly. If innocent men have languished in jail, by the effects of the Sedition Law—if the national representation has been violated, in the persons of Lyon and

Randolph—if the inſolence of a ſtanding army has been intolerable to the citizens—or a poor fellow delivered over to Britiſh barbarity, for having done his duty—we ſhall conſider all theſe things as errors of the head, and not of the heart. It is folly to repine, or be angry, when things cannot be recalled. Poor Jonathan Robbins cannot be brought to life again; nor can the unfortunate Mrs. Cooper, whoſe afflictions and death were brought on by grief, be reſtored to her family and friends.

Fear and an over-heated imagination will make many weak-minded men commit very cruel actions. Is it poſſible otherwiſe to account for the abominable barbarity exerciſed on Lyon, Holt, Callender, Cooper, &c. but in a phrenſy of the brain, a diſeaſe of the mind, which, continually, pictured to the diſturbed imagination, nothing but murder and aſſaſſination, as often as the word republican or Jacobin was pronounced? It was out of the power of theſe maniacs to prevent this aſſociation of ideas; and they ought to be the objects of our pity and compaſſion, rather than of our vengeance; eſpecially as very few have been murdered by their folly. Many, you will ſay, have been ruined in their fortunes. Granted: but this evil is to be recovered, if we only know how to do juſtice, and reſpect ourſelves. We have the conſolation of having done our duty; of having ſtood forward, defenders of juſtice, truth, and right, in perilous times,

when

when right, truth, and juſtice were baniſhed from the land; and we have glorioufly triumphed. They have the mortification to look back only on their own folly and madneſs, and forward to the contempt and diſapprobation of every good man.

Will thirteen ſenators, who would ſell their country for a meſs of pottage, enjoy the repaſt, amidſt the execrations of their fellow-citizens? or will it be impoſſible, under a virtuous adminiſtration, to make thoſe peculators, Dayton, Pickering, and an infinite number of ſmall fry, deliver up their fraudulently held balances to the treaſury, and thereby prevent the neceſſity for loans at eight per cent.? If we can only purſue wiſe and ſober meaſures in future, and redeem the paſt miſpent time, it is enough. It would only ſhew a ſpirit of malice, inconſiſtent with the moderation of republicaniſm, to be for ever venting our ſpleen againſt our undoers; although they have brought us to the verge of deſtruction, and it is evident that we have only eſcaped through our own mighty exertions. If they can be driven from their terreſtrial Paradiſe, and diſabled from any more ſtabbing and undermining the Republic, we ought to be ſatisfied. Could this be accompliſhed (and we will certainly ſoon have it in our power), I would not, as far as my ſuffrage goes, confine one of the villains in jail; no, not for a ſingle day—nor even put them in fear of the terrible ſound of

a marſhal's voice. I wiſh to furniſh demonſtrative evidence of the ſuperiority of republican virtue over ariſtocratic violence.—Not that I would have theſe men retained in their places, of which they have ſhewn themſelves unworthy: certainly, I would have the Augean ſtable ſwept perfectly clean; not a particle of filth would I ſuffer to remain:—not a corner for the vermin to breed in, afreſh; but my reſentment would end there. It would give me no pleaſure to purſue John Adams to an oſtraciſm; nor to proſecute Hamilton and Fenno upon the Sedition Act; let them retire, in the name of God, merciful and gracious, to the ſhades of private life.

"The brave only know how to forgive; "it is the moſt refined and generous pitch of "virtue human nature can arrive at. Cowards "have done good and kind actions; cowards "have even fought, nay, ſometimes, even "conquered; but a coward never for-"gave. It is not in his nature; the power "of doing it, flows only from a ſtrength and "greatneſs of ſoul, conſcious of its own force "and ſecurity, and above the little tempta-"tions of reſenting every fruitleſs attempt to "interrupt its happineſs."

But in the moment that we forgive thoſe men —who have brought diſgrace upon our country, who have made the very name of republican diſreputable—we ought to endeavour to remove

move ſome of the prejudices which they have created; and which, if not counteracted, may do more miſchief than even they themſelves have done.

They have told us, and too many Americans have believed it, That in the event of the election of Mr. Jefferſon, we ſhould have a war with England. But I will undertake not only to ſhew that we ſhall have no war with England, but alſo, that America has nothing to fear, under a wiſe adminiſtration, from any foreign nation whatever.

When nations lie contiguous, and whoſe boundaries, as it were, run into each other, or are only ſeparated by a ſmall river, or an imaginary line, running over the tops of mountains—when the peace of nations reſts upon the caprice of a weak-headed king or emperor, then there may be a great cauſe of apprehending war. "Sometimes one fooliſh prince "quarreleth with another, for fear the other "ſhould quarrel with him. Sometimes theſe "loggerheads lead on their ſubjects to war, "becauſe the enemy is too ſtrong; and ſome-"times becauſe he is too weak. Alliance, by "blood or marriage, is a frequent cauſe of "war between princes; and the nearer the "kindred is, the greater their diſpoſition to "quarrel." But theſe cauſes of war cannot hold good in this country. We have no alliance, by blood or marriage, with any of the princes

princes of Europe; and it cannot poſſibly be the intereſt of any of them to invade us, if it were in their power.

The Engliſh government are too well convinced of the enormous expence of carrying on a war againſt America, ever, ſeriouſly, to attempt it. They cannot, with all their fleets, make an impreſſion upon the continent of Europe, which lies within half a day's ſail of their own ſhores. How often have they been repulſed from the coaſts of France and Holland? and yet we are to be perſuaded that they might be ſucceſsful at the diſtance of three thouſand miles; after their ſoldiers are enfeebled and emaciated by a long ſea voyage. No:—there is not a ſingle European power, who is mad enough to think ſeriouſly, for one moment, of invading America. They have neither men nor money to ſpare for ſuch a Quixotic expedition; nor can their judgment, their reaſon, or their intereſt, ever dictate ſuch a fooliſh project. But they may haraſs our trade, at ſea.—Yes: and they will do ſo, as long as they are waging war againſt each other in Europe, and in the colonies: but when peace ſhall be reſtored to thoſe diſtracted countries, our trade will ſtand upon the ſame footing as that of other nations; if we were even to have no treaty with any foreign power. During an European war, we ſhall be plundered at ſea; and, in peace, we ſhall be free to plough the ocean, in ſpite of treaties.

But

But it may be ſaid, that the Canadians may be inſtigated, and the back Indians excited, by Britiſh gold, to make predatory incurſions upon our North or North-weſtern ſettlements: or the Spaniards, and Indians (ſpurred on by Spaniards) may make irruptions from the South and South-weſt. What reaſonable grounds can there be for ſuch a ſuppoſition? Is it reaſonable to think, that the Spaniards will be ſo blind to their own intereſt, as to fall out with America, from which ſhe will draw ſuch an immenſe ſource of riches? Does not every one know that New Orleans will become the grand emporium of trade for all the inhabitants upon the weſtern waters, and that our trans-mountain citizens muſt ſeek there a vent for their ſuperabundant produce? This reciprocity of good offices, may produce peace and friendſhip, but never ought to give any apprehenſion of war, except we deſire it on our own part, or are led into it by the imprudence of our own adminiſtration.

It cannot, in any degree, impair the happineſs of our weſtern citizens, or check the exertions of their genius, that the port, which opens their country to the ſea, ſhould belong to another nation. After agriculture, no place in the world is evidently deſtined by nature to become the ſeat of the arts, ſo much as Kentucky and the Weſtern Territory; and the manufactures, the produce of theſe arts, will find their way into the Spaniſh dominions ſooner,

er, by New Orleans belonging to a foreign nation, than if it belonged to America. Let, therefore, our weſtern brethren attend to manufactories, where proviſions will be cheap, the price of manual labour moderate, and where there are abundance of raw materials, of all ſorts. And this is as far as their monied capital will allow them to go.

And let Spaniards, Frenchmen, or adventurers of any nation, carry their capitals to New Orleans, to purchaſe the manufactures of the weſtern country, with ready money.

As for the Canadians, on our northern frontier, they are ſo much inclined to peace, that George and Pitt could not ſtir them to war, by any conditions; and we are now ſo well acquainted with the temper of the Indian tribes, as to know that it will be our own fault if they ſhould be unfriendly.

Whenever, therefore, People of America, your conſtituted authorities cry out, WAR, WAR, be aſſured they have ſome deep, knaviſh deſign under this cry. Your pockets or your liberties are in danger. Seek no other proof of their enmity to the Republic; of their deſpite to the laws of God, and of their unfitneſs for the high ſtations in which you have inadvertently placed them. Take the firſt conſtitutional opportunity of diſmiſſing them, and chooſe men who are the advocates of peace; for

for it is in peace only, that you can expect to flouriſh.

Oh! ſtretch thy reign, fair PEACE, from ſhore to ſhore,
Let conqueſt ceaſe, and ſlav'ry be no more!
And the freed Indians, in their native groves,
Reap their own fruits and woo their ſable loves.
Exil'd by thee from earth, to deepeſt hell,
In brazen bonds ſhall barb'rous DISCORD dwell:
Gigantic PRIDE, pale TERROR, gloomy CARE,
And mad AMBITION ſhall attend her there.
There purple VENGEANCE, bath'd in gore, retires,
Her weapons blunted, and extinct her fires.
There hateful ENVY her own ſnakes ſhall feel,
And PERSECUTION mourn her broken wheel:
There FACTION roar, OPPRESSION bite her chain,
And gaſping tyrants thirſt for blood in vain.

CHAP. III.

Of the Means of Defence.

BUT, my fellow-citizens, if your prejudices are not yet overcome; if you ſtill think that war may be the lot of America, in ſpite of the wiſdom of thoſe who govern her councils, in ſpite of the univerſal deſire, from Maine to

Georgia, for peace, and although you are convinced it is not the intereſt, yet as it might be reconciled with the folly of England, France, or Spain, to invade us, I will, therefore, proceed to ſpeak of the proper meaſures of defence.

Whatever is poſſible, may arrive; and I agree that we ought to provide againſt *poſſible*, as well as probable, contingencies. It is therefore not diſputed, but that we ſhould put ourſelves in a poſture of defence. But how we are to aſſume that formidable attitude, is now the queſtion. Ariſtocracy will ſay, By a ſtanding army, commanded, and officered, by the well-born:—and John Adams may recommend, that "*cheap* defence of nations," a navy! but neither of theſe can ever be contemplated by the Republican Ruſh-Light; nor one ray iſſue from our taper, to preſent in a favourable point of view either of theſe modes of defence, beyond a very ſmall degree. "Overgrown mi-
"litary eſtabliſhments, under any form of go-
"vernment, are inauſpicious to liberty; and
"are to be regarded as particularly hoſtile to
"republican liberty." So ſaid the illuſtrious Waſhington.

The defence therefore that we ſhall recommend, conſiſts of two parts. 1ſt, a well organized militia; and, 2d, a judicious regulation of the duties on imports. We ſhall touch a little on each of theſe topics; and firſt of a militia.

"A well

" A well regulated militia is the proper, na-
" tural and ſafe defence of a free government."
Conſtitution of Delaware.

" The militia of this country, muſt be con-
" ſidered as the palladium of our ſecurity,
" and the firſt effectual reſort in caſe of hoſ-
" tility. It is eſſential, therefore, that the
" ſame ſyſtem ſhould pervade the whole; that
" the formation and diſcipline of the militia
" of the continent ſhould be abſolutely uni-
" form; and that the ſame ſpecies of arms, ac-
" coutrements, and military apparatus, ſhould
" be introduced in every part of the United
" States. No one, who has not learned it
" from experience, can conceive the difficulty,
" expenſe, and confuſion which reſult from a
" contrary ſyſtem, or the vague arrangements
" which have hitherto prevailed."
Waſhington.

A militia, taken in the moſt extenſive ſignification, means the whole of the citizens in arms, or in battle array. But as no poſſible caſe can ever require every individual citizen to march out to battle, there can be no military organization of the militia, until every ſoldier is made acquainted with his *tour* of duty. Every petty officer knows, every corporal entruſted with the command of twelve men, perfectly underſtands that he muſt number his men, from unity upwards, that they may know their ſucceſſion of duty. Can there

be any thing more unmilitary, or which would ſhew a total diſregard of diſcipline, than for the commanding officer of an army, who had an intention of ſending off a detachment, to enquire for volunteers? Where there is perfect diſcipline, proper organization in a military ſtyle, every brigade, regiment, company, platoon, and individual, ought to have their tour of duty marked out by certain rules; and if this regularity is neceſſary in ſections, great or ſmall, of an army, how can they be diſpenſed with in organizing the whole nation?—Let me know whether I am to be called on, firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth, in caſe of an invaſion or inſurrection, and I will arrange my affairs accordingly. Let me know whether my age or my youth, whether a life of celibacy or matrimony, ſubjects me to the firſt call; whether the circumſtance of reſidence, my riches or poverty, or what elſe exempts me altogether, or brings me into the firſt ranks of the defenders of my country.

If theſe matters are not previouſly arranged, who will conſent to regulations formed at the moment of invaſion? If, by ſuch a regulation, I am unexpectedly required to abandon my family and home, and ſhould perceive ſome injuſtice or partiality in the requiſition, and conſequently refuſe my conſent, with what grace can the exempts force me to march to a duty equally incumbent upon themſelves? Some of the beſt diſciplinarians in America are well aware

aware of the neceſſity of ſuch an organization of the citizens in militia: but they are the advocates of a volunteer army. An army of men who are willing to be converted into machines; to kill or be killed, to get a living. Theſe men, though I give them credit for their knowledge of military affairs, muſt be reprobated, as they are paving the way for the annihilation of liberty. A volunteer army, receiving pay, and the freedom of a nation, are incompatible with each other. Nay, I deteſt volunteering, in any ſhape whatever, with or without pay; as a principle militating againſt the republican inſtitution of election and repreſentation. However, until the citizens in militia ſhall be perfectly organized, until it ſhall be known to every man what is the tour of his duty; and until the volunteers *in pay* be totally diſbanded, let the republican volunteers, *out of pay*, hold their arms, as a ſecurity that theſe things ſhall be accompliſhed.

The friends of Deſpotiſm, and of its right arm, a volunteer mercenary army, wiſh to have it believed that it is impracticable to organize the citizens into an effective militia; and that no poſſible conjunction of the civil and military ſtate can be adequate to the defence of a nation; but let us not be deceived. It might, indeed, be difficult ſo to organize a militia, properly ſo called, as to anſwer every purpoſe for which volunteer mercenaries are adapted. They would not ſo readily overturn the liber-

ties

ties of their country; but as a defence againſt foreign invaſion or inſurrection, their conſtruction muſt be very defective indeed, if they did not repel an enemy with much more certainty and effect.

Theſe friends of Deſpotiſm are always willing to leave the militia in an imperfect ſtate, or to make its duties irkſome to the citizens, that its diſadvantages may be continually apparent; and the neceſſity of a regular army made obvious.

There is nothing that requires the watchful and jealous eye of Republicaniſm more than this arrangement of the citizens into ſoldiers, for the defence of the ſtate; and it is much to be deſired, that the ſubject ſhould be taken up, and treated of diſpaſſionately, by ſome of our good republican military writers.

CHAP. IV.

On Impoſts as a Mean of Defence; and the true Republican Syſtem of Taxation.

I SHALL now proceed to examine the ſecond branch of the ſyſtem of defence, namely, the duties on the importation of foreign goods, commonly called the impoſts.

Mr.

Mr. Burke has ſaid, " Taxation is an eaſy " buſineſs. Any projector can contrive new " impoſitions: any bungler can add to the " old." If the ſtateſman has no other object than raiſing a ſum of money, taxation would, certainly, be a very eaſy buſineſs: but we intend to ſhew, *that revenue ought only to be a ſecondary object with the ſtateſman, in impoſing duties on importation; and that* DEFENCE *againſt aggreſſion, and protection to the citizens, ſhould be the primary conſideration.* If a revenue can be obtained from it—good. It is like killing two birds with one ſtone. But a government which depends upon the impoſts, as the principal ſource of its revenue, muſt feel itſelf extremely weak in any contention that may ariſe with foreign nations. Any interruption of trade, with a foreign power, will produce a defalcation of the revenue; at a period too when, inſtead of its being diminiſhed, it ought to be increaſed; for every contention with foreign nations cauſes an additional expenſe to a country.

If revenue were *not* the primary object of the impoſts, we could ſay to any hoſtile nation, " We will lay a duty, amounting to a prohibition, upon the importation of your goods, if you do not immediately ceaſe your aggreſſions, and make us reparation; *this* will be infinitely more injurious to *you*, than all the benefits ariſing from the ſpoliations on *our* commerce. We can either purchaſe ſuch goods from

another country, or employ our citizens in their fabrication; or, finally, ſubmit to a total privation, rather than bear your inſults with impunity."

If the rulers of an hoſtile nation could not be brought to reaſon by ſuch language, their talents would be ſo much below mediocrity, that we need not fear but we ſhould beat them in the field.

But if the fear of injuring our own revenue, ſhould prevent us from uſing that manly language, *and the enemy ſhould know it*, will it not make them much more audacious, inſolent, and hoſtile? and have not the Britiſh confirmed already the force of my reaſoning?

For want of this control over the impoſts, we have been prevented from giving a vital ſtab to a hoſtile nation, in the encouragement of the emigration of her beſt artiſts. We durſt not, for fear of injuring our revenue, protect them by duties, in the firſt eſtabliſhment of expenſive arts. We were afraid even to retaliate upon that hoſtile nation, by laying equal duties upon equal things. We have ſuffered the hat-making buſineſs to decline, becauſe we durſt not lay the ſame duty on Engliſh hats that England does on American ones, for fear of a defalcation of the revenue: that being the primary object, which I inſiſt ought not to be the caſe. Has nature intended England to be a hat-

hat-making country?—England; who has no fur, but that of a few rabbits; or America, which abounds with fur of every kind, and of the beſt qualities? And ſhall we deſpiſe the gifts of nature; throw away our fur trade; and all, becauſe the caterpillars of the nation have nothing to feed on but twelve per cent. *ad valorum* on foreign goods?

As the citizens of a free country muſt ſubſcribe, according to their abilities, to the exigencies of government, it only remains to be enquired, in what manner they ſhall do it, with the leaſt injury to themſelves, and the greateſt advantage to the ſtate. If it be diſadvantageous to depend on the impoſts, for a *permanent revenue;* if it has been proved that it robs us of one of our beſt meaſures of defence; and prevents government from being able to protect the manufacturing citizens; it is evident, that we ought to look to other means of revenue, and leave to the impoſts the full force of defence and protection, as far as the ſyſtem is capable of being applied to that end.

At the ſame time, I have no doubt, but the impoſts, under the management which I recommend, would be fully as productive as they are at preſent. Some articles would produce a great deal more, and others much leſs, ſo that betwixt one thing and another, the revenue from that ſource would remain much as it is. Great Britain draws a great portion of

her ſupplies from the impoſts; but it is well known, that ſhe never ſuffers the object of revenue to ſtand in the way of defence or protection. The manufactures of Great Britain are protected by extraordinary duties, even upon goods manufactured in their governments in India, and yet we conſtantly hear of an annual encreaſe from that branch of revenue.

Direct taxation is certainly the only proper republican mode of raiſing a revenue.—The citizens are, in that way, beſt informed of what they are paying, without any deception. A greater proportion of the ſum payed goes at once into the treaſury; and the citizens have only to enquire, once a year, whether their money has been honeſtly expended. Every other mode is like ſtealing the money out of your pockets. Deſpotic governments do not tell the people how much they muſt pay; they, therefore, have contrived, to make a poor man pay ſomething to the government every time he puts his hand into his pocket.—They have long incapacitated the working claſs of people from ſaving ſo much as a dollar to pay in a direct manner: they, therefore, make him pay double in the purchaſe of the neceſſaries of life—when he buys a pound of ſoap he pays two pence to government, a pound of candles two pence, a quart of beer two pence, and a pound of ſalt two pence. If he purchaſe a hat two ſhillings, a pair of ſhoes two ſhillings, and and ſo of every article that can be mentioned;

and

and this money, ſtolen from the people, goes in ſuch a circuitous route to the treaſury, that not much more than one half, actually paid, ever finds its way thither.

A tax upon licenſes is a moſt abominable tax. Why ſhould one man pay for the exerciſe of his calling, more than another? If a man's occupation tends to immorality, it ought to be ſuppreſſed altogether. But a tavern keeper of all others ought not to pay any *additional* tax. If it were poſſible, he ought to receive ſome compenſation from the ſtate, to enable him to be hoſpitable and kind to ſtrangers, and way-faring men: that a ſtranger, the moment he comes to ſojourn among us, ſhould not be liable to any more extortion than the ſettled citizen. Why ſhould I be obliged to pay four times as much for a dinner at a tavern, when I am purſuing my lawful occupation, on a journey, as when I am at home with my family, but that the tavern-keeper by an improper policy, is loaded with heavy rents and additional taxes?

But if licenſes were delivered to every one demanding them, the evil would not be ſo great; at preſent, theſe licenſes operate as a kind of monopoly; and prevent the free exerciſe of talents, and that competition which is ſo beneficial to ſociety at large.

In Mahometan countries, inns, or (as they are called) caravanſeras, are erected by the

ſtate, for the accommodation of travellers on the road. Among the Turks it has been conſidered that men muſt ſometimes travel, and, on the journey, want accommodation; but, in Chriſtian countries, man has been only conſidered as a vegetable, and he becomes the ſubject of double taxation the moment he aſſumes ſo much animation as to change his place.

Licenſes are a tax on the ſociability of man. If I ſtay at home and get drunk I am only charged the ordinary taxes, but when I become a ſocial being, and ſeek for company at the tavern, I muſt ſubmit to double taxation.

There is a certain degree in which I am friendly to ſtamp duties, they might be reſorted to ſometimes, upon extraordinary occaſions, and for particular purpoſes, and dropt when the exigencies which occaſioned them ceaſed to exiſt. But of all ſpecies of taxation for the ſupport of lawful and honeſt government, I certainly, muſt repeat, that a direct levy in proportion to property is the beſt, and moſt conſonant to republican principles; as, indirect ſubſidies are the fitteſt to ſupport a monarchy. This truth is well known in the councils of Touſſaint, who has lately changed the direct tax for an indirect one; well knowing that the indirect mode is beſt ſuited to the principles and ſupport of deſpotiſm.

Whilſt I ſpeak in praiſe of public contribu-

tions

tions by a direct aſſeſſment, when the burden is proportioned in ſuch a manner as that one man ſhall not feel more of it than another, yet I feel no ways inclined to advocate *the* direct tax now levying in the United States, which bears all the marks of that folly, ignorance and corruption for which the adminiſtration, from whence it originated were ſo conſpicuous.

It will be one of the greateſt misfortunes in the fœderal ſyſtem, if not guarded againſt in time, that the people may be overwhelmed with an hoſt of tax-gatherers. On one day, the municipal collector comes round for his water, lamp, ſtreet and pump taxes for the uſe of the city; next day, perhaps, you are aſſailed by the ſtate collector; and, on the third, before your purſe has recovered from the drain made by theſe ſuckers, you are called on by the United States collector. Suppoſing the money was abſolutely wanted, equitably levied, and judiciouſly expended, it muſt be a hardſhip in itſelf, and very oppreſſive, that the people ſhould pay three or four collectors where one might very well anſwer the purpoſe. By this means an ignorant man will never know when he has done paying, or know on whom to fix the greateſt degree of rapacity.

Either the legiſlators who framed the direct tax were ignorant of this increaſing evil; or they ſaw it, but corruptly intended to fence round the government; and render it independent

pendent of the people, by creating poſts and places for their friends; for otherwiſe, they muſt have ſeen, that the burden upon the people would be infinitely leſs, and the buſineſs equally well done, by the ſtate collectors, for a very ſmall advance.

As the federaliſation of republican ſtates, will, it is hoped, one day take place of treaties and laws of nations among kings; republicans ought ſeriouſly to guard againſt that evil which I have mentioned above, namely, the multiplication of tax-gatherers, which ſeems to grow out of the federal plan of government—a plan, which if well managed, would be equal to the government of the Globe itſelf, and bring about that happy millenium when the ſons and daughters of men ſhall be all children of one family, and the ſound of war be heard no more. But if the foſtering, and nurſing up of the fœderal ſyſtem, were left to ſuch men as we have ſeen unfortunately blundering, and intoxicated at the helm, for the laſt four years, the human race would be thrown back into the dark ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition; and the Americans on the Atlantic ſhores would haſten to reſemble the ſavages on the Pacific Ocean. If ſuch men were ſuffered to continue to rule, could it be long expected that the people of New-Hampſhire and Georgia would call each other compatriots, or ſpeak the ſame language? no, the plough that now gives peace would yield to the tomahawk, or murdering gun.—

Let

Let thoſe, therefore, who can ſee the harmony of federalizing nations, be on the watch to prevent the introduction of any thing which may deſtroy it. And nothing more, my dear countrymen, requires your vigilant attention, than a too complex ſyſtem of taxation; creating a multitude of officers and inferior dependants, all firmly united to the government, whatever character it may aſſume, but careleſs about the happineſs of the people, and hoſtile to their rights. Such is one of the abominable features of this direct tax.

Another, equally horrid, and which demonſtrates the negligence, incapacity or want of honeſty in its framers, is the inequality of its bearance on the different ſtates. But it will always be the caſe, when legiſlators make laws to ſerve a particular purpoſe, or to forward a favourite meaſure, that theſe laws will be very defective in the details; create great uneaſineſs among the people upon whom they operate; and, frequently, require amendment; and, perhaps, though the ſpirit of the law may be good, muſt be totally repealed. How often muſt legiſlators be told, even by their conſtituents, who are ſuppoſed not to have ſo much knowledge as themſelves, that they ſhould never ſuffer paſſion to guide them; but that the grand principle of eternal juſtice, and the good of mankind, ſhould be their only rule.

The federaliſts, as they improperly and uſurpingly

uſurpingly ſtile themſelves, after having been adverſe to a direct land tax, propoſed in 1795 by republicans, upon republican principles, and properly digeſted; which had no other object in view but the tranquility and happineſs of the people, bring forward *their* land tax, at a time when the paſſions of the American people were rouſed by foreign depredations; in order to fill their own pockets and be enabled to carry their favourite meaſures, viz. an increaſe of power to the government, and humiliation of the people.

This is the reaſon that the land tax, though in its ſpirit truly republican, has become ſo obnoxious. The ſpirit of a free people muſt be rouſed, when they ſee their country filled with tax-gatherers, taking the dimenſions of every man's property, and aſſuming over him thoſe high airs which republicans can never brook. Their indignation muſt be excited when they know that the diſtribution of this tax among the ſtates is far from being equitable or juſt, according to the population and riches of the ſtates reſpectively.

When the republicans propoſed a direct land tax in 95 it was not with an intention of raiſing additional revenue, but in order to relieve the cuſtoms from thoſe ſhackles by which they are now bound—to enable them to be uſed as a meaſure of defence againſt foreign depradations at all times. It was *then* oppoſed by the monarchiſts,

monarchiſts, and ſoi-diſant federaliſts; and, they were willing that the right arm of America ſhould be tied up, rather than we ſhould wound the feelings of our dear mother country.

But when it was reſolved, by a junto who forced themſelves into the councils of J. Adams, and who have no more perſonal friendſhip for him than I have, that a bold ſtroke ſhould be made, to annihilate the ſtate governments; to form the United States into a government one and indiviſible; to raiſe up certain families into rank and dignity, and exclude the maſs of the people, the induſtrious farmer, artizan and merchant from every ſhare in the government, either as electors or repreſentatives; then, in order to carry this grand project into execution, a friendſhip muſt be maintained with thoſe foreign powers who ſhould be favourable to it, ſuch as England, and all the monarchies. A regular army of volunteers muſt alſo be at command: and above all, money muſt be raiſed for this important object. To draw money from the pockets of a free people there muſt be ſome pretence. The old ſtale trick, which that miſerable and crazy government of England has ſo often played, was therefore reſorted to, viz. a quarrel with a neighbouring power to give occaſion for additional taxation.—France, as every one knows, was the nation that was choſen for this purpoſe. The Chineſe perhaps, might have done as well; a rumour might have been ſpread

that they had fitted out a great armament; were bending their courſe acroſs the Pacific Ocean; about to land on the weſt coaſt of America; and, penetrating through the woods, would, in a ſhort time, appear on our weſtern frontier. This is an event far from being impoſſible, and therefore might have been believed: but a quarrel with France anſwered a double purpoſe, that of raiſing money and rendering obnoxious republican principles which were intended to be overthrown.

Under ſuch a ſpirit, and with ſuch views, it was not poſſible for legiſlators to make laws that would meet the approbation of reflecting men, or have any permanent duration.

The concluſion is, that the direct tax ought to be certainly continued, but the proviſions of the law ought to be reviſed, as ſoon as honeſt men can be found for that purpoſe, and rendered leſs burdenſome and oppreſſive.

The future ſtateſmen of America, will, then, have complete power over the impoſts, to uſe that political engine either as a defence againſt foreign aggreſſion or as a bulwark to protect American manufacturers.

There is no event ſo deſirable to the lovers of mankind, than that there ſhould be a free trade betwixt all nations, and that merchants ſhould be conſidered as citizens of the world

and

and be allowed to paſs and repaſs to every nation, without paying higher duties than would be neceſſary to defray the expenſe of light houſes, harbours, quays, &c. In that caſe, the moſt honeſt and induſtrious nation would always have the preference. But as this cannot be done but by an univerſal federalization of ſtates; and the Gothic ſyſtem of treaties being totally aboliſhed, an event not likely to happen for many years; we ſhould make it a rule to treat other nations exactly as they treat us. If with liberality, than we ought to be liberal, if they reſtrain our trade we ſhould reſtrain theirs; every other rule would be an injuſtice to our own citizens.

If another nation produces ſomething which we want, but cannot produce, we ſhould permit it to enter our ports on paying a very ſmall duty.

But, if we can grow or manufacture the ſame kind of goods with another nation, if that nation prohibits the importation of ours, ſo ſhould we prohibit the importation of theirs. If this be not done, a deſpotic country will always have the advantage over a free republic; and, in time, bring it into the ſame condition with itſelf, (poverty and degradation); becauſe under a deſpotiſm, men are obliged to labour inceſſantly for a bare exiſtence; and, by that means, would underſell the citizens of a free republic in their own markets, if ſuf-

fered to compete with them. This ſyſtem, if purſued for any length of time, would neceſſarily bring on poverty, the forerunner of ſlavery.

Thus, you ſee, it is the folly of mankind, or rather of thoſe who preſume, without abilities, to rule them, that have brought about the decadence of republics; and that it is by no means the order of nature, as ſome unthinking, weak-minded men would make us believe.

If the citizens of a republic, have neceſſarily higher wages than the ſlaves of deſpotiſm, are they not thereby enabled to pay higher for the neceſſaries of life?

If an American carpenter can earn one dollar a day, and a Scots carpenter a ſhilling, is not the one as able to purchaſe a hat from his fellow-citizen at four dollars, as the poor Scots ſlave, can afford to buy his felt hat, at four ſhillings. Thus, freedom is the baſe of the manufacturing column, as well as the commercial Corinthian capital which overtops it; becauſe the conſumption is much greater where liberty reigns. A poor Welſhman, muſt wear his five ſhilling felt hat for five years, while the independent citizen of a well organized republic, can afford to have a good rorum, or beaver once a year.

Now,

Now, in order to ſhew at one view, that our manufacturing citizens are greatly diſcouraged, and not put upon a footing with thoſe of other nations, I ſhall give a liſt of the principal manufacturies that are already as well eſtabliſhed in this, as in any country on the earth; and then, exhibit the difference betwixt their being imported into England, and the ſame kind of goods when brought into this country, the manufacture of England.

By the ſtatute 3 Edward, 4. c. 4. the importation of the following goods, which we manufacture as well as the Engliſh, are totally prohibited:

Saddles—andirons—gloves—things wrought of tawed leather—ſhoes—playing cards—hats—cards for wool—and generally all kind of goods wrought by joiners, painters, card-makers, weavers, horners, bottlemakers, or copperſmiths; and the duties on ſtarch, hair-powder, parchment, paper, ſoap, ſpirits, and refined ſugar, are ſo great, as to amount to a prohibition; whilſt they are all admitted into this country on paying the following low duties, to the great injury of the citizens who have been at the expenſe of eſtabliſhing theſe works, or ſpent their youth in an apprenticeſhip.

Goods either prohibited in England, or which pay ſo high duties as amount to a prohibition; and which are admitted into America, upon paying the following low duties.

Saddles, - -	10 per cent.
Gloves, - -	15
Shoes, - - -	15
Tanned and tawed leather,	15
Playing cards, - -	25 cents per pack.
Combs, - - -	15 per cent.
Hats, - - -	15
Bottles, - - -	10
Copper manufactures,	15
Stockings, - - -	15
Starch, - - -	15
Paſteboard parchment,	10
Hair powder -	15

CHAP. IV.

A NATION that is increaſing in population ought alſo to increaſe in riches, in the ſame proportion, or what muſt become of the next generation, whoſe numbers have, perhaps, been doubled,

doubled, without doubling the real, and perſonal property. If, in twenty-five years, America ſhall be able to double her population, without alſo doubling the value of her property, ſhe muſt become poorer, every year; and a conſequence of that poverty, would be a check on population. Wealth will produce a numerous population, either by emigration or procreation, but population does not always ſuppoſe a proportional progreſſive increaſe of wealth, without good laws tending to multiply riches.

Nations, like individuals, acquire wealth only by a well directed induſtry, ſuited to the ſituation and relative condition of the reſpective countries. It is fit for ſome ſtates to direct their attention to commerce, as the Venetians, and the Dutch; their territory being ſmall, having an eaſy communication with the ſea, and an induſtrious, agricultural, and manufactoring people lying behind them, in the inland country. It is proper that other ſtates, having a mountainous inland territory, ſhould apply themſelves to agriculture and the uſeful arts; whilſt other nations, as England and France, may unite in themſelves all the three great branches of human induſtry; agriculture, the arts and commerce.

It is without doubt, that the United States of America, is ſo happily ſituated upon the Globe, that ſhe may ſome time, excel in them all; at preſent,

preſent, ſhe ought to beware of beginning at the wrong end.

Taking things upon a great ſcale, (as America muſt be conſidered), a rude ſtate of agriculture muſt precede the uſeful arts; and both muſt take the lead of commerce. If, in any nation this order of things ſhould be inverted, it is contrary to nature, and cannot be permanent. The queſtion, therefore, that I would propoſe to every American, is, Whether it is proper to begin with being carriers to the world, with a view of encouraging agriculture, or begin with agriculture, and afterwards to move on ſtep, by ſtep, according to the order of nature, and finiſh in having a well cultivated country; good roads, canals, navigable rivers; the arts, even the fine arts, in a high ſtate of perfection; and, finally, the ocean covered with her ſhips? or, in other words, whether the growing capital, the ſavings of induſtry, ſhould be ſeparated from the increaſing population, ſending the one into the woods and the other to the ſea; the one Eaſt, and the other Weſt. The ariſto-federaliſts, during their long, diſaſtrous reign of twelve years, have yoked a horſe to each end of the cart, and whipped and ſpurred them on, in oppoſite directions, tearing the nation aſunder and putting her to the rack, by ſending the population one way, and the riches another.

But how could it be ſuppoſed that ſuch men

as

as John Adams, and his New-England junto, could know the grand art of directing the national ſtream of wealth; an art, only known to the accompliſhed ſtateſman, to which title theſe men can have no pretenſions: their ſordid, and baſe paſſions may, indeed, teach them to direct the people's money into their own pockets: but, ſuch is the imbecility of their intellects, that they have not the power, (if they had the will), to point out the path by which the nation may be led to wealth and proſperity.

You weak, purblind, inſignificant wretches, can you not perceive that the interior of your country wants improvement; that an hundred millions of dollars ought to be expended to make decent roads only; that the whole monied capital of the United States, is by far too little for the purpoſes of internal improvement; and that the increaſe of population, muſt neceſſarily, tend to keep up a defficiency of that capital. If you had been wiſe, you would have taken meaſures diametrically oppoſite to thoſe you have done: inſtead of encouraging monied men to riſk their capitals on the ocean; and, afterwards, making the farmers pay dear for protecting that property, on an uncertain element, a prey to buccaneering nations; you ſhould have made it profitable for men of wealth to employ it in creating farms, with orchards and cornfields in the wilderneſs, ſafe from the barbarous Algerines, or the more ſavage navy of England.

The ſame means that were taken to give an additional impulſe to commercial riches, in the eſtabliſhment of banks, if uſed to promote agriculture, and the arts, would have puſhed the nation forward to a ſtate of proſperity unexampled in any age.

If banks of depoſit and mortgage, had been eſtabliſhed in the country, as well as in the ſeaports, to employ the ſurplus monied capital of the nation, another face of things would have been ſeen at this day. We ſhould never have have had to complain, firſt, of the ſpoliations of Great Britain, or *now*, be aſhamed of being a dupe to her baſe promiſes of remuneration. We ſhould have had no quarrel with, or the imputation of ingratitude to, our old friends; and the millions your folly has coſt us, would be *now* in the pockets of the people. But, the ſingle fact of your humiliating and diſgraceful tranſactions with the barbarous powers of the Mediterranean, is ſufficient to demonſtrate your incapacity for the firſt offices of government.

I ſhould be glad to know, what curious kind of political arithmetick you made uſe of, to know, that it was for the good of America, that her ſhips ſhould paſs the Straights of Gibralter? and, above all, how you can make it appear, that the profits of the whole Mediterranean trade, will pay the expenſe of the Algerine treaty, and other treaties with barbarians

barians three thouſand miles from your coaſt.

In my opinion, the happineſs, proſperity and independence of America, does not depend upon her citizens paſſing the pillars of Hercules; and, that we ought not to give one cent for the privilege: and you, worthleſs adminiſtrators! you could have no reaſon for paying ſuch an enormous tribute to theſe barbarians, if it were not to draw the riches of the nation from the Weſt, to ſend it to the Eaſt, contrary to that ſound principle of American policy, That the riches, as far as it is in the power of government to direct, ſhould be made to move in a weſtern direction; among our induſtrious, enterpriſing citizens on the frontier; for it is better to ſubſidize every tribe of Indians in America, from Lake Superior, to the bay of Mexico, rather than give a dollar to the Algerines. It is more profitable to lay out 10,000 dollars, in the *cultivation* of back lands, than 100,000 riſked upon the Ocean. Individuals are tempted by the proſpect of immediate gain; nations ſhould look forward to a permanent and ſubſtantial inheritance. But, even preſent advantages are not ſo great as ſome men would have us to believe. This is a truth, which has been at all times clear to my underſtanding, though very difficult to demonſtrate. At preſent, immediately after the failure of ſuch a man as Blight, the aſſertion may be fairly hazarded, and left without any other proof than that fact, to ſupport it.

If ſome of the proprietors about Meade's Ville, had employed their capitals in the Weſt, on *terra firma*, in preference to the Eaſt, among perfidious enemies, and on the boiſterous main, their figure, character and rank in ſociety, would have been far different to what it is at preſent.

The conduct of theſe men, and many others who have trode in the ſame path, is an illuſtration of the folly of the ariſto-federaliſts, and ought to be a warning to a republican federal adminiſtration to avoid ſimilar evils.

Since then, the ariſto-federaliſts, during their ſhameful adminiſtration, have brought the nation only to diſgrace abroad, and taxation at home, without accompliſhing one good purpoſe; it is to be hoped, the Republican federaliſts, who have conſtantly oppoſed them, will, when they come into power, make a better uſe of it than they have done. It is to be hoped, that they will divert the ſtream of riches more to the Weſt, by encouraging uſeful arts for home conſumption; that they will do for the nation, what every induſtrious farmer purſues in his domeſtic economy; make the family appear in homeſpun ſtuff.

When a man only conſiders, for a moment, the immenſe territory lying uncultivated; and the prodigious increaſe of population, which yearly takes place; it muſt ſtrike him, that a capital

capital proportioned to that increaſe, ſhould be provided to procure accommodation for the riſing generation, and the influx of ſtrangers; and, that theſe matters, ſhould be the firſt objects of government. And, on a ſecond reflection, ſhall we not be equally ſurprized, that theſe ariſto-federaliſts not only have neglected that important duty, but have made their ignorance apparent, by ſeeming not to underſtand it; they have not only, I ſay, forborne to put the nation in the road to proſperity, but they have ſtood, like the angel before Balaam and his aſs, to prevent its progreſs; and the nation, as blind as Balaam, has not been able to ſee what oppoſed its happineſs. At laſt, happily, our eyes are opened, and we are ſorry, like Balaam, for the beating we have given the republicans, who have been always friends to America, ever ſince they have been the aſs, upon which the people have ridden unto this day.

CHAP. V.

AMONG the variety of things, which produce happineſs or miſery, proſperity or adverſity, to a nation; not one is of ſo much importance, or ſo little underſtood, as the flux and reflux,

reflux, the plenty or ſcarcity, of money. It is not intended, in a work like the Ruſh-Light, to write an elementary treatiſe, on the circulating medium: but, while our rulers ſhew their extreme ſgnorance of that political organ, it cannot be deemed improper to throw out a few hints, as a kind of primary impulſe, which may, perhaps, induce men of brighter talents, more leiſure, and better means of information, to purſue the enquiry.

This kind of political knowledge, is the more neceſſary at preſent, as it will aſſiſt in counteracting that poiſon, which, with diabolical aſſiduity, has been adminiſtered by the federaliſts, to the good people of America. They have been told; that, under the adminiſtration of Jefferſon, the National debt would be extinguiſhed, in order to excite the fears of thoſe who live upon the intereſt; and, ſome ſilly republicans, have been weak enough to believe this villainous inſinuation; though not one federaliſt who propagated it, ever entertained ſuch a belief, for a moment. But to throw out Jefferſon, and keep themſelves in power, they will go any lengths; and, when their offices are no longer tenable; when they find they muſt be driven from their fortreſſes by the impreſſive and commanding voice of a great people, they will imitate the baſe, cowardly and treacherous conduct of the Engliſh, at Toulon; for, amongſt them it will not be difficult to find many men of as baſe a caſt as ſir Sydney Smith,

Smith, who will bear the torch of deſtruction, while the other villains ſheer off with their booty, by the light of the conflagration. Happily, the conſtitution is incombuſtible. Its *depoſitory, the hearts of the American people,* is fire proof.

An extinguiſhment of the national debt, would, certainly, be a very deſirable thing; but there can be no neceſſity for doing it in any other manner, than by the rules of juſtice and equity. Will the holders of public ſtock be in greater jeopardy, under a peaceable and economical adminiſtration, than under a turbulent, reſtleſs and expenſive one, ſuch as we have experienced for the laſt four years? If the price of ſtock, ſhould fall during the adminiſtration of Mr. Jefferſon, it will be, becauſe a new field will then be opened for the employment of capital: monied men will find it more profitable to employ their riches in adorning the face of the country, and in eſtabliſhing uſeful arts, than lending it to the nation at ſix per cent. If the price of ſtock has been conſidered in England as the political barometer which points out national proſperity or deterioration, we muſt not think, it will be the ſame here, unleſs we alter the ſcale; or, perhaps, reverſe it. When ſtocks riſe, in time of peace in England, it ſhews that the rich have wrung more and more from the induſtry of the poor; more than they know well what to do with; and, therefore, they place it in the funds

funds at a ſmall intereſt. But, in this country, if the arts ſhall be encouraged by a wiſe adminiſtration, it muſt be a long time before that period arrives, when monied men will be at a loſs how to diſpoſe of their capital. Therefore, if ſtocks riſe, it will be a ſign of deterioration; and their fall, a proof of the wiſdom of government. This is only mentioned as an antidote againſt ariſto-federal poiſon; well knowing, that if the ſtocks ſhould depreciate, they will bring it as a proof of the miſmanagement of our republico-federal adminiſtration, when the fact may be the very reverſe.

It was intended, to go at large into the uſe and abuſe of paper money; and the enormous privileges conferred on banks: but as this ſubject would ſurpaſs the bounds of the preſent number, it muſt be reſerved for another opportunity.

FINIS.